

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

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DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:S, D ONLY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 071639

NODIS

CHEROKEE - FOR DR. BREZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING SECTO 03077 SENT ACTION SECSTATE APRIL 1;
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T SECTO 03077

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY VANCE

SECSTATE FOR CHRISTOPHER ONLY

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR DR BREZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) UR, UK, FR

SUBJECT: MY MEETINGS WITH GERMAN AND BRITISH LEADERS

1. I HAD TWO INTERESTING CONVERSATIONS TODAY -- ONE
WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER,
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WHO SEEMED MOST WORRIED ABOUT EXTERNAL PROBLEMS, AND
THE OTHER WITH A BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WHO ALSO HAS

WORRIES BUT THEY SEEMED TO BE MAINLY DOMESTIC. THE
LATTER BELIEVES HE IS ABOUT TO LOSE ANOTHER BY-ELECTION
THIS EVENING WHICH WILL NARROW HIS ALREADY THIN
MAJORITY. BOTH HOWEVER REACTED TO MY ACCOUNT OF OUR

CONVERSATIONS IN MOSCOW BY GIVING THEIR ASSESSMENT THAT THIS IS NOT THE END OF THE ROAD ON SALT. BOTH EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OUR ATTENTION TO ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS.

2. OUR TALKS WITH SCHMIDT LASTED ABOUT FOUR HOURS AND COVERED A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS STARTING WITH MY VISIT TO MOSCOW. I FOUND SCHMIDT ANXIOUS TO DISCUSS A NUMBER OF MATTERS THAT HAVE BEEN BOTHERING HIM FOR SOME TIME. I HAD THE FEELING THAT HE WISHED TO GET A LITTLE OF THIS OFF HIS CHEST BEFORE HIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU. HE BEGAN BY DESCRIBING HIS LONG CAREER IN A VARIETY OF HIGH POLITICAL POSITIONS. HE STATED THAT, AS BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS, HE WOULD LIKE TO BE OPEN AND FRANK. HIS CONCERNS RELATED TO HEARING CRITICISMS OF HIS POLICIES IN PUBLIC AND IN

THE PRESS WHICH MADE HIS TASK OF COOPERATION WITH US MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. FROM THE LATER CONTEXT OF THE DISCUSSION, I ASSUME THESE RELATE TO OUR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE HIM TO STIMULATE THE GERMAN ECONOMY MORE, THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR DEAL AND OUR PRESSURE TO GET GERMAN DECISIONS IN THE DEFENSE AREA.

3. HE ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO YOU HIS SUPPORT FOR YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS STAND, BUT HE ALSO ASKED FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING IF HE PURSUES DIFFERENT METHODS DUE TO THE FACT THAT HE MUST PROTECT THE MILLIONS OF ETHNIC GERMANS WHOM HE HAS BEEN TRYING TO BRING OUT OF THE SECRET

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SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

4. SCHMIDT IS LOOKING FORWARD TO THE SUMMIT AND TO MEETING YOU. HE IS PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO HAVE A LONG BILATERAL MEETING ON ONE OF THE TWO EVENINGS (EITHER THE 7TH OR THE 8TH). HE GAVE ME A PREVIEW OF SOME OF HIS CONCERNS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY. HE FEELS THAT WE ARE NOT OUT OF THE LONGEST WORLD RECESSION AND THAT WE ARE UNLIKELY TO SEE MUCH IMPROVEMENT BEFORE LATE IN 1978. HE SEES ALL WESTERN POLITICAL LEADERS WEAKENED BY THEIR APPARENT INABILITY TO COPE WITH THESE PROBLEMS. HE ALSO WONDERS WHY THE WEST TAKES A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPING THE ECONOMIES OF THE THIRD WORLD, WHILE LEAVING TO THE SOVIET UNION THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND THEREFORE THE POLITICAL CREDIT.

5. AT THE VERY END OF OUR CONVERSATION, HE RAISED THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUE AND GAVE A LENGTHY PRE-

SENTATION OF HIS VIEWS. I WILL WISH TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH YOU PERSONALLY ON MY RETURN. IN SUM, SCHMIDT SAYS THAT HE MUST GO AHEAD WITH THE LICENSES FOR THE BLUEPRINTS. HE FEELS THAT TO PREVENT A WORSENING OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEM WITH US, HE MUST MAKE HIS ANNOUNCEMENT BEFORE YOU MAKE YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE US DOMESTIC REPROCESSING POLICY. HE ALSO DOES NOT WISH TO LEAVE THIS PROBLEM UNTIL MAY IN LONDON BECAUSE THIS WOULD UNDULY STRAIN OUR RELATIONS. HE SAYS HE SHARES OUR OBJECTIVES BUT THAT OUR OBJECTIVES WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED IF THE FRG BREAKS TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS. HE MADE A SUGGESTION ON HOW TO HANDLE THE SITUATION WHICH I WILL DISCUSS ON MY RETURN. I OUTLINED TO HIM OUR STRONG CONCERN IN THIS AREA AND ASKED THAT HE DO NOTHING UNTIL I HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH YOU ON MY RETURN. HE PARTICULARLY WISHES TO ISSUE A JOINT OR PARALLEL SECRET

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STATEMENT ON NON-PROLIFERATION. I BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPORTANT AND USEFUL TO DO THIS.

6. MY CONVERSATION WITH CALLAGHAN FOCUSED MAINLY ON AN ACCOUNT OF OUR MEETING IN MOSCOW. HE AND DAVID OWEN WERE VERY SUPPORTIVE AND WERE QUITE SURE THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE LATER ON. THEY THOUGHT, AS DID SCHMIDT, THAT THERE HAD PROBABLY BEEN A SPLIT IN THE POLITBORO ON THIS ISSUE. THE BRITISH SUGGESTED THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDIES COVERED BY OUR US-SOVIET WORKING GROUPS. IN FACT, THEY THOUGHT SOME OF THE SUBJECTS, LIKE CIVIL DEFENSE, SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE ALLIANCE.

7. AT THE END OF THIS CONVERSATION, CALLAGHAN RAISED THE CONCORDE ISSUE AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD USE ITS BEST EFFORTS TO PERSUADE THE PORT AUTHORITY IN NEW YORK TO ALTER ITS POSITION FOLLOWING THE SUBMISSION OF NEW DATA ON NOISE. CALLAGHAN ALSO INFORMED ME OF THE BRITISH DECISION TO PROCEED WITH NIMROD WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS ONE OF THE FEW POPULAR DECISIONS HE HAS TAKEN RECENTLY. HE SAID THAT THE BRITISH COULD NOT POSTPONE THIS PROGRAM FOR ANOTHER YEAR, WHICH SEEMED TO BE THE GERMAN REQUEST. CALLAGHAN ALSO REPORTED ON THE COMMON MARKET MEETING IN ROME WHERE HE OBTAINED AGREEMENT FOR JENKINS' PRESENCE AT THE SUMMIT AND ALSO GOT AGREEMENT ON AN EC POSITION ON THE "COMMON FUND." HE DESCRIBED BOTH THESE ACTIONS AS MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS. VANCE UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, CAT-B, CHEROKEE 04/01/77, BRIEFING MATERIALS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 01-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE071639
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:LRMACFARLANE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770002-0360
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770497/aaaadgti.tel
Line Count: 169
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1d988bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2924709
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MY MEETINGS WITH GERMAN AND BRITISH LEADERS
TAGS: OVIP, OGEN, UR, UK, FR, GE, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (SCHMIDT, HELMUT), (VANCE, CYRUS), (CALLAGHAN, JAMES)
To: WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1d988bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009